

Why, Kansas is neither the whole, nor a  
tithe of the real question-

"A house divided against itself can not  
stand"

I believe this government can not endure  
permanently, half slave, and half free-

I experienced this belief a year ago; and  
subsequent developments have but confirmed me.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved  
now. I do not expect the house to fall; but  
I do expect it will cease to be durable. It  
will become all one thing, or all the other. Either  
the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread  
of it, and put it in course of ultimate extinction; or  
its advocates will push it forward till it shall be  
completely lawless in all the states, old, as well  
as new. Do you doubt it? Study the Dred Scott  
decision, and then see, how little, even now, remains  
to be done.

That decision may be reduced to three points.  
The first is, that a negro can not be a citizen.  
That point is made in order to deprive the negro  
in every possible event, of the benefit of that provi-  
sion of the U. S. Constitution which declares, that:  
"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to  
all privileges and immunities of citizens in the  
several States."

The second point is, that the U. S. Constitution pro-  
tects slavery, as property, in all the U. S. territories, and  
that neither Congress, nor the people of the territories,  
nor any other power, can prohibit it, at any time prior  
to the formation of State constitutions.

This point is made, in order that the territories may  
safely be filled up with slaves, before the formation of  
State constitutions, and thereby to embarrass the free states

**Abraham Lincoln**  
**“House Divided” Speech fragment**  
s.l., circa 1857.  
Autograph manuscript, 1 page.

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Why, Kansas is neither the whole, nor a tithe of the real question.

“A house divided against itself can not stand”

I believe this government can not endure permanently, half slave, and half free –

I expressed this belief a year ago; and subsequent developments have but confirmed me.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved – I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided – It will become all one thing, or all the other – Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and put it in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old, as well as new – Do you doubt it? Study the Dred Scott decision, and then see, how little, even now, remains to be done –

That decision may be reduced to three points – The first is, that a negro can not be a citizen – That point is made in order to deprive the negro in every possible event, of the benefit of that provision of the U. S Constitution which declares that: “The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States”

The second point is, that the U. S. Constitution protects slavery, as property, in all the U. S. territories, and that neither Congress, nor the peoples of the territories, nor any other power, can prohibit it, at any time prior to the formation of State Constitutions –

This point is made, in order that the territories may safely be filled up with slaves, before the formation of State Constitutions, and thereby to embarrass the free state [sentiment, and enhance the chances of slave constitutions being adopted.]

[The third point decided is that the voluntary bringing of Dred Scott into Illinois by his master, and holding him here a long time as a slave, did not operate his emancipation – did not make him free.]

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Notes: The text within brackets is published in Roy P. Basler 2: 452-453, from Nicolay-Hay's edition of Lincoln's works with minor variations in paragraphing, emphases, capitalization and spelling, and expanded abbreviations. Basler dates this speech "May 18, 1858," citing an Alton

*Weekly Courier* report of 20 May. Nicolay-Hay dates the speech to “October 1, 1858.” This date is incorrect, since Lincoln delivered a later form of this “House Divided” speech at the Republican State Convention on 16 June of that year (Basler 2: 261-2 and 464). Current dating is based upon Don E. Fehrenbacher's hypothesis that this speech responds to Stephen A. Douglas' speech in the Senate of 9 December 1857 (*Prelude to Greatness*, chapter 4).